

# 1 The former iron curtain still drives biodiversity-profit trade-offs in German agriculture

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30 **Agricultural intensification drives biodiversity loss and shapes farmers' profit, but the role of legacy**  
31 **effects and detailed quantification of ecological-economic trade-offs are largely unknown. In Europe**  
32 **during the 1950s, the Eastern communist bloc switched to large-scale farming by forced**  
33 **collectivization of small farms, while the West kept small-scale private farming. Here we show that**  
34 **large-scale agriculture in East Germany reduced biodiversity, which has been maintained in West**  
35 **Germany due to >70% longer field edges compared to the East. In contrast, profit per farmland area**  
36 **in the East was 50% higher than in the West, despite similar yield levels. In both regions, switching**  
37 **from conventional to organic farming increased biodiversity, halved yield levels, but doubled**  
38 **farmers' profits. In conclusion, EU policy should acknowledge the surprisingly high biodiversity**  
39 **benefits of small-scale agriculture, which are on par with conversion to organic agriculture.**

40 Agricultural intensification greatly gained momentum after World War II due to increasing use of  
41 agrochemicals and mechanization<sup>1-3</sup> to mitigate starvation in almost the whole of Europe<sup>4</sup>. The vision was,  
42 at that time, to produce as much food as possible to overcome hunger and poverty in both the Eastern and  
43 the Western blocs (Supplementary Fig. 1). This led to increased yields, but was and still is coupled to  
44 biodiversity loss<sup>5,6</sup>. In the Eastern bloc, intensification was combined with a vast collectivization of farms,  
45 as farmers were forced to hand over their fields to state-owned cooperatives<sup>7</sup>. This practice aimed at  
46 increasing the efficiency of production through landscape-scale homogenization, including the removal of  
47 minor field roads, field margins, hedgerows and any semi-natural habitat inhibiting the ambitious  
48 production goals leading to large fields. This process was implemented in East Germany during 1953-1960,  
49 and resulted in a rapid change from small-scale agriculture, with more than 800 000 family farms, to large-  
50 scale agriculture, with fewer than 20 000 cooperatives. Meanwhile, such drastic change did not happen in  
51 the West<sup>8</sup>. After the German reunification in 1990, field sizes remained almost unchanged<sup>9</sup>, while  
52 ownership changed from cooperatives to private, often western or foreign farmers. This marked field-size  
53 difference is still visible along the former iron curtain<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 1). At the same time, EU legislation under the  
54 Common Agricultural Policy started providing financial support through agri-environmental schemes  
55 (AES) with, for example, organic management<sup>11</sup>. Although some studies questioned the effectiveness of  
56 AES in terms of biodiversity gains<sup>12,13</sup>, both meta-analytical and large-scale field studies show that organic

57 management supports threatened farmland biodiversity generally better than conventional farming<sup>14,15</sup>,  
58 while also producing healthier food and less contamination of soils and groundwater<sup>16</sup>. Biodiversity  
59 advantages of small-scale farming and landscape heterogeneity have been acknowledged widely in  
60 ecology<sup>17-21</sup>. However, to the best of our knowledge, the ecological and economic role of large-scale vs.  
61 small-scale farming has never been studied together. Further, we compared ecological and economic  
62 consequences of small-scale agriculture with those of organic farming for the first time.

63 The historical East-West division enabled us to test the effectiveness of organic cereal management  
64 for biodiversity in large-scale vs. small-scale agriculture. We measured the diversity of plants and  
65 arthropods (Methods), and hypothesized that (i) biodiversity is higher in small-scale cropland<sup>1</sup>, and (ii) that  
66 the effect of field size is more important for biodiversity than conversion to organic management. In 2013,  
67 we selected nine pairs of organic and conventional winter wheat fields in small-scale agricultural  
68 landscapes in former West Germany and in large-scale agricultural landscapes in former East Germany,  
69 respectively, all along the former inner German border (2 regions × 9 field pairs = 36 study fields;  
70 Supplementary Fig. 2). These two neighbouring study regions are representative of the farmland areas of  
71 the former East and West Germany<sup>22,23</sup>. We aimed to explore how biodiversity patterns change from field  
72 edges to field centres with the following within-field sampling design. We designated transects at field  
73 edges (directly next to narrow grassy field margins bordering dirt roads), field interiors (15 m from field  
74 edge) and field centres (120 and 75 m from field edge in East and West, respectively). We performed our  
75 study in the agricultural matrix, minimizing the area and potential effect of non-agricultural habitats (Table  
76 1)<sup>24</sup>. Landscape structure was very different between the two neighbouring regions, with fields more than  
77 six times larger in the East, and >70% longer field edges in the West. Conventional farmers in both regions  
78 used about five times the amount of nitrogen fertilizer compared to organic farmers, applied synthetic  
79 pesticides about five times per year (vs. never), and had approximately two times higher yields than organic  
80 farmers<sup>25,26</sup>. This large difference in winter wheat yield between organic and conventional farmers is typical  
81 for the rich soils farmed in the study region<sup>27</sup>.

82 We also performed a detailed economic survey of our study farms based on farmer interviews  
83 (Methods). Total costs included expenses for mechanical field work, seeds, soil analyses, chemical plant

84 protection, chemical growth regulators, synthetic and organic fertilizers, agricultural wage enterprises and  
85 working time. Total revenues included grain and straw revenues as well as subsidies for organic agriculture.  
86 Total profit was calculated by deducting total costs from total revenues per field per hectare. We  
87 hypothesized that (i) large-scale agriculture is more profitable due to lower variable costs<sup>28</sup>, and (ii) organic  
88 agriculture is more profitable due to better marketing possibilities<sup>29,30</sup>.

89

## 90 **Results**

91 We found that farmers' profit from winter wheat was more than 100% higher per hectare under organic  
92 than conventional management (Fig. 2 and Supplementary Table 1). Subsidies for organic agriculture were  
93 170 and 210 €/ha in East and West (AES and subsidies vary among German federal states<sup>31</sup>), respectively,  
94 suggesting that these subsidies contribute to the difference in profit between the two management types.  
95 Although subsidies were a substantial part of profit for organic farmers, large differences between the two  
96 management regimes still remains without these subsidies (mean values for West organic: 1181 €/ha vs.  
97 West conventional: 412 €/ha; East organic: 1663 €/ha vs. East conventional: 874 €/ha). We also found  
98 significantly higher profits per farmed area (~50-60%) in the large-scale than in the small-scale agricultural  
99 region. This is because of higher production costs in Western conventional farms due to current labour  
100 costs and higher revenues in Eastern organic farms<sup>32</sup> probably associated with better marketing  
101 possibilities (Fig. 2 and Supplementary Table 1).

102 There was no effect of region on species richness of plants and arthropods (carabids, rove beetles,  
103 spiders), as well as no overall effect of region when all groups were considered together in a fixed effect  
104 meta-analysis<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 3, Supplementary Fig. 4 and Supplementary Tables 2-6) (Methods). The same was  
105 true when analysing arthropod abundances and plant cover (Supplementary Fig. 5-6). Organically managed  
106 fields harboured more species and individuals of all groups than conventionally managed fields. This effect  
107 was strongest for plants, which drove the overall summary effect resulting in 44% higher overall species  
108 richness in organically than conventionally managed fields. The statistical interaction of region and  
109 management was due to a higher effectiveness of organic management in the West for plant richness as  
110 well as spider abundances. Interestingly, both species richness and abundances were reduced by about 25%

111 when comparing field edges with field interiors, but there was no further drop towards the field centres  
112 (except for spider richness). Hence, most farmland species and their populations are confined to the very  
113 edge of crop fields. This also implies that the higher biodiversity in the small-scale agricultural system in  
114 the West can be linked to the much higher amount of field edges<sup>1,17,19</sup>.

115 To further explore this pattern, we performed sample-based rarefaction curves<sup>34,35</sup> on incidence data  
116 of all taxa in field edges combined by standardizing for field perimeter (field perimeters originate from the  
117 mean field size per region, Table 1). The rarefied species richness observed in different types of  
118 management (organic over conventional) and region (West over East) was significantly different (Fig. 4).  
119 Small-scale conventional management in the West supported higher biodiversity than large-scale organic  
120 management in the East (Fig. 4). Although the species richness per field was similar in both regions (Fig.  
121 3), having only nine small fields in the West gives a much higher species richness than four large fields  
122 with the same length of field perimeter in the East regardless of management type. This means that the  
123 species richness in the fields, i.e. alpha diversity, of these two contrasting regions is similar, whereas the  
124 species turnover, i.e. between-field beta diversity, is much higher in the West than in the East. In addition,  
125 richness was higher in organic than in conventional management.

## 126

## 127 **Discussion**

128 Our study showed how the former iron curtain between East and West Germany and the associated divide  
129 in large-scale and small-scale agriculture is still shaping economic-ecological trade-offs in agriculture. We  
130 quantified the great contribution of small-scale agriculture to biodiversity, which was more important than  
131 organic management. Yield levels were the same across the East-West divide, but large-scale agriculture  
132 led to the highest profit (despite similar yield) and organic farming even doubled profit (despite halved  
133 yield). Although large-scale farms allow higher profits, which is in line with economies of scale<sup>28</sup>, future  
134 restructuring of agricultural landscapes towards small fields with field margins would probably be an  
135 economically viable option under an EU-subsidised policy on enhancing farmland biodiversity<sup>31</sup>. We  
136 emphasize the importance of quantifying ecological-economic trade-offs for a politically balanced view.  
137 Further, the long-term stability of former East-West contrasts in agricultural politics and farming practices

138 suggests that evaluations of ecological and economic costs and benefits need to be regionally adapted,  
139 taking agricultural traditions and potential legacy effects into account<sup>36</sup>.

## 141 **Methods**

### 142 *Biodiversity survey*

143 In 2013 June, we surveyed plants by estimating the relative cover per species in three plots (5 × 1 m in size  
144 and 10 m distance between them) per transect ( $\Sigma = 324$  plots). Arthropods (carabids, spiders and rove  
145 beetles) were collected with two funnel traps per transect in two one-week periods from May to June ( $\Sigma =$   
146 432 funnel traps; for the trapping method see Duelli et al.<sup>37</sup>).

### 148 *Economic comparison*

149 The following cost factors were considered per study field: field preparation including sowing and  
150 harvesting (e.g. costs due to the use of cultivator, milling machine, plough, harrow, chipper, curry comb,  
151 seed drill, harvester and baler), seeds, soil analyses, chemical plant protection (e.g. fungicides, insecticides,  
152 herbicides, rodenticides or molluscicides), chemical growth regulators, synthetic and organic fertilizers,  
153 agricultural wage enterprises and working time. If costs of preparation, sowing (including seed costs) and  
154 harvesting were not tractable by farmers, we noted working steps and machine-data and later on calculated  
155 expenses by the use of the online plant process calculator of the agricultural advisory board for engineering  
156 and building<sup>38</sup>. In doing so, we considered field size, workability of soil (medium or heavy soil),  
157 mechanization (kW, machine type, working width of machines or sowing quantity), field to farm distance  
158 (set up to 1 km) and farming system (organic or conventional). In terms of other parameters (e.g. machine  
159 costs like fuel requirement, repair costs and depreciation), we used standardized settings of the online  
160 calculator. If farmers' data did not fit exactly into the online calculator (e.g. sometimes in the case of kW,  
161 field size or machine width), we used the next closest setting. In terms of farm-saved seed, we assumed  
162 0.40 €/kg of seed for conventional and 0.47 €/kg of seed for organic farming system (pers. comm. from  
163 Association for Technology and Structures in Agriculture), because statements of farmers showed a huge  
164 variation. Machine costs emerging through fertilization and chemical plant protection were calculated by

165 using the default setting of the online calculator<sup>38</sup> while considering the farming system (organic or  
166 conventional), field size, workability of soil (heavy or medium) and cultivation method (direct sowing  
167 method, non-plough tillage or conventional soil cultivation with plough). If farmers only provided  
168 information about the kind and quantity of product used without prices (four farmers), then costs for  
169 chemical plant protection products and growth regulators were derived from different price lists<sup>39,40,41,42</sup>. If  
170 farmers were unable to provide prices for synthetic fertilizers, cost calculation was based on individual  
171 average prices of the fertilizers in Germany for the marketing year 2013/2014 (pers. comm. Agrarmarkt  
172 Informations GmbH). Since farmers used organic fertilizers originating from their own enterprises, they  
173 were just able to tell us the quantity and the type of organic fertilizer. Average prices were derived from our  
174 own survey of regional companies (Nährstoffverwertung Oldenburger Raum Münsterland, Naturdünger  
175 Verwertungs GmbH, Agrovermittlungsdienst Emsland-Bentheim GmbH, Bioenergiedorf Jühnde), which  
176 deal with or utilize natural fertilizers. Prices for liquid manure and digested residue were generally set with  
177 4 €/t or m<sup>3</sup> (Lower Saxony) and 5 €/t or m<sup>3</sup> (Thuringia), and solid dung with 10 €/t. To calculate the costs of  
178 working time, we recorded estimated working hours of each farmer (with reference to the whole winter  
179 wheat season 2013/2014). Working time was related to hectares and multiplied by 15 € (this amount was  
180 based on our own experiences as well as on a farmer's estimate) to calculate costs per hectare.

181 In addition to the costs, we also considered the revenue side of the winter wheat season 2013/2014.  
182 Here, we recorded grain and straw yield as well as additional state grants for organic agriculture per study  
183 field. Grain yield was multiplied by actual proceeds stated by the farmers. Grain yield was sold or used as  
184 fodder, seed or for baking purposes. If a crop was still not sold or used at the time of the survey,  
185 calculations were based on estimated proceeds of each farmer. If straw was not left on the field, we also  
186 calculated proceeds of straw (sold or used as fodder or litter). If not stated by the farmers (nine farmers), we  
187 used the average German sales price of straw (7.38 €/dt) with reference to the marketing year 2013/2014  
188 (AMI 2015). Besides grain and straw proceeds, we also took into account state grants for organic  
189 agriculture as a source of revenue. Here, we considered federal state specific subsidy rates of the business  
190 year 2013/2014 (cultural landscape programme of Thuringia: 170 €/ha if organic farming was practised ≥  
191 six years; Agri-environmental programme of Lower Saxony: 210 €/ha if organic farming was practised ≥



192 three years; pers. comm. Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection of Lower Saxony and  
193 Thuringian Ministry of Infrastructure and Agriculture).

194 All matters of costs and proceeds were calculated per hectare and year for each field. To obtain total  
195 revenue (€ per ha, field and business year), aggregated costs were subtracted from overall proceeds.

### 197 *Statistical analysis*

198 Due to limited availability of organic farms in the East (fewer organic farms in the East, but with an order  
199 of magnitude larger size than in the West<sup>43</sup>), we applied a so-called partly cross-nested design by selecting  
200 from half of the farmers two fields and from the other half only one field: in both regions we had three  
201 villages with two organic-conventional pairs and three villages with one organic-conventional pair (see  
202 Supplementary Fig. 2,3). Therefore, we applied linear mixed effects models by using the ‘lme4’<sup>44</sup> package  
203 of the statistical software R<sup>45</sup>. All biodiversity data were pooled per sampling year and per transect prior to  
204 analysis by taking the mean cover for arable plants and the sum for arthropods. Response variables, if  
205 needed, were either log (carabid and rove beetle abundances) or logit (plant cover) transformed in order to  
206 achieve a normal error distribution and/or avoid heteroscedasticity and to get a better model fit.

207 Additionally, all response data were standardized from zero to one<sup>46</sup> in order to allow for direct  
208 comparisons of effects on the different dependent variables, and to perform fixed-effect meta-analyses for  
209 getting the overall effects (see next paragraph). The partially crossed nested study design was taken into  
210 account in the random structure of the models. Accordingly, each model included the random effects: field  
211 (n = 36) nested in farm (n = 24) nested in village (n = 9) and field (n = 36) nested in pair (n = 18) nested in  
212 village (Supplementary Fig. 3). In addition, models contained the following fixed effects: region (East vs.  
213 West), management (organic vs. conventional), transect position (edge, interior or centre) and the  
214 interaction between region and management. Model-formula in R-syntax:

215 “lmer(y~(Region+Management)^2+Transect\_position+(1|Village/Farm/Field)+(1|Village/Pair/Field))”.

216 Marginal and conditional R<sup>2</sup> values for species richness and abundance models were calculated using the  
217 “r.squaredGLMM” function of ‘MuMIn’<sup>47</sup> package of R. We did not simplify the models in order to be

218 able to directly compare their effect estimates among the different taxa and to summarize these estimates in  
219 a meta-analysis (see below).

220 One of the main interests was, besides investigating the environmental effects on each individual  
221 group, whether these environmental effects showed an overall effect. Therefore, we performed a series of  
222 unweighted fixed effect meta-analyses for each effect type (region effect, management effect, effectiveness  
223 of organic management, edge vs. interior effect, interior vs. centre effect, edge vs. centre effect) per  
224 measure type (species richness, abundance) with the metafor<sup>48</sup> package of R. Weighting was not used since  
225 data originate from the same experimental design with the same sample size per measure. This enabled us  
226 to get an effect estimate of all groups expressed as summary effect sizes with their corresponding 95% CIs  
227 presented in Fig. 3, Supplementary Fig. 5.

228 We analysed the effects of region and management and their interaction on count data from economic  
229 surveys (profit, revenue and cost) with generalized linear mixed-effects models based on a negative  
230 binomial distribution for avoiding overdispersion. Random effect terms correspond to the biodiversity  
231 analyses above without field, since that was the lowest level. Model-formula in R-syntax:  
232 “glmer(y~(Region+Management)^2+(1|Village/Farm)+(1|Village/Pair))”.

233 We analysed the effects of region and management and their interaction on farm size with linear  
234 regression based on a normal distribution (no random effect). Finally, we analysed the effects of region and  
235 management and their interaction, presented in Table 1 with generalized linear mixed-effects models based  
236 on a normal distribution for all non-integer continuous data based on a normal distribution. One exception  
237 was the only count variable, number of synthetic pesticide applications, which was analysed based on a  
238 negative binomial distribution for avoiding overdispersion. The structure of random effects was the same as  
239 in the case of economic survey data. In the case of number of synthetic pesticide applications, where effect  
240 of management could not be analysed (organic fields excluded because synthetic pesticides are not  
241 allowed), only village was used as a random factor.

242  
243 **Code availability.** A complete description of the main model is provided in the Methods and all code is  
244 available on request from the authors.

245

246 **Data availability.** Species presence data are available in Supplementary Information (Supplementary Table  
247 3-6). The biodiversity and environmental data used in the analyses are archived at the research data  
248 repository Zenodo (doi: 10.5281/zenodo.810513).

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350

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358 study; P.B., R.G., F.R., S.F., C.G., A.-K. H., K.K., D.M., V.R., and A.W. collected data; R.G., and P.C.  
359 identified arthropods; P.B. analysed data with substantial input from C.F.D.; and P.B. wrote the paper with  
360 substantial input from all authors.

361

362 **Additional information**

363 **Supplementary information** is available for this paper.

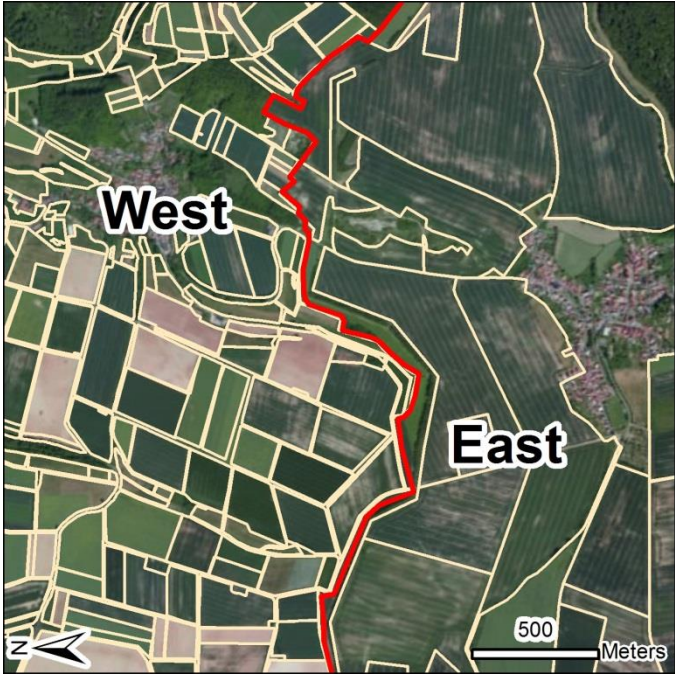
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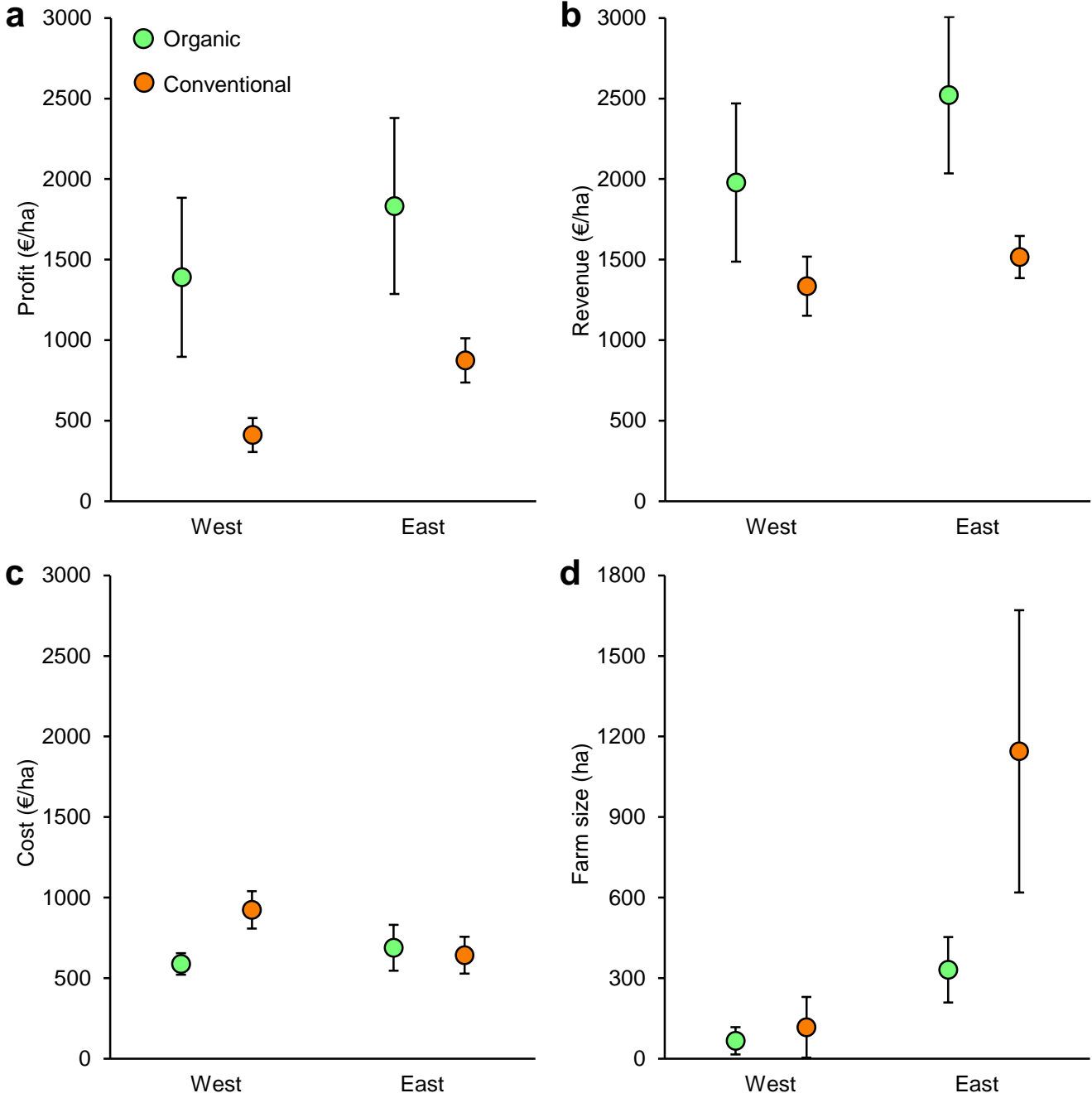
366 **Competing interests.** The authors declare no competing financial interests.



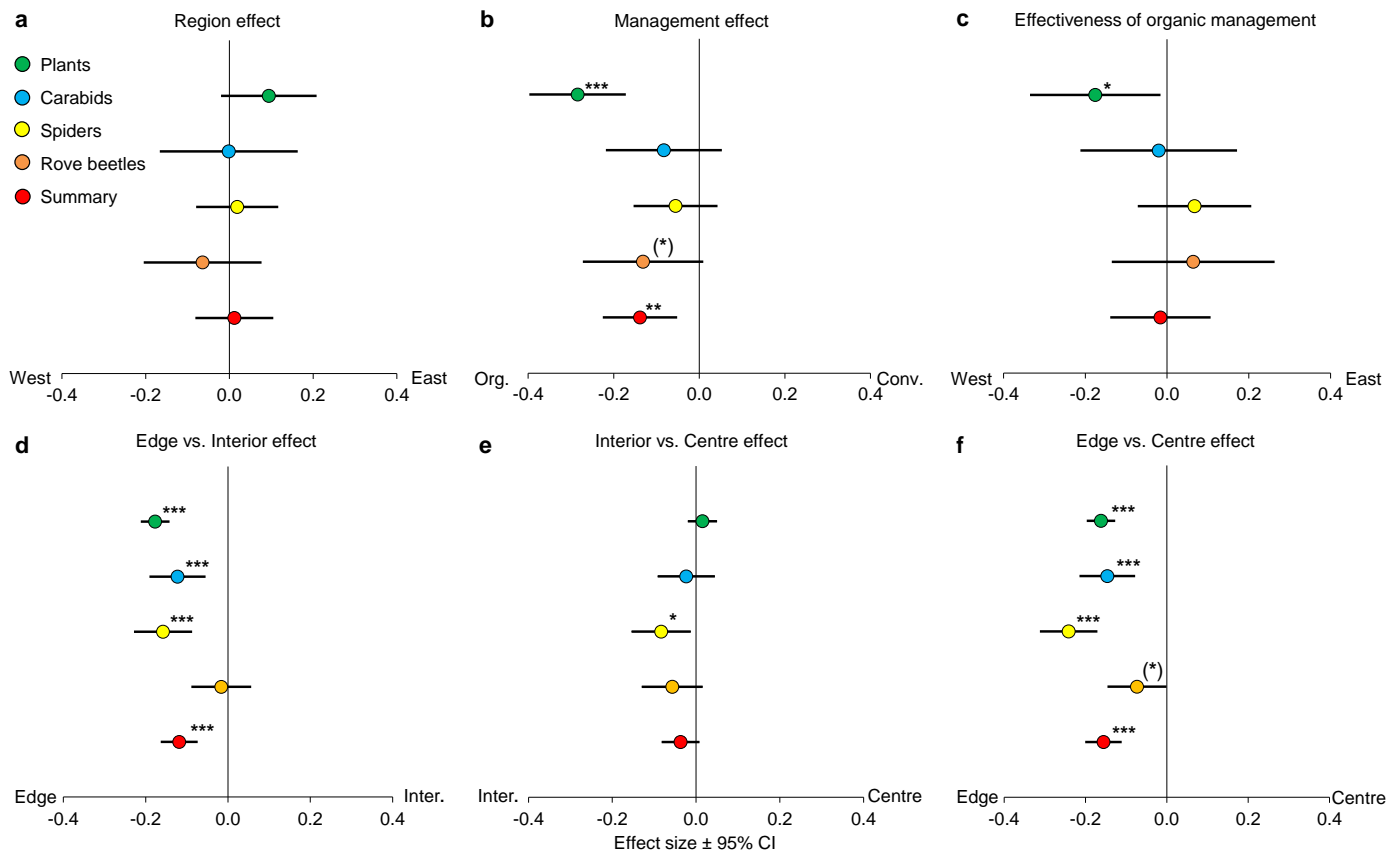
367 **Figure 1 Illustrative map (1:30000, date: 25.05.2012) showing field-size differences between West and**  
368 **East Germany along the former iron curtain (red line) in the study area (around the villages of**  
369 **Weissenborn and Hohes Kreuz, South-East of Göttingen, on the border of Lower Saxony (West) and**  
370 **Thuringia (East)). Source of the photo: ESRI, World Imagery, DigitalGlobe (date: 15.05.2015).**



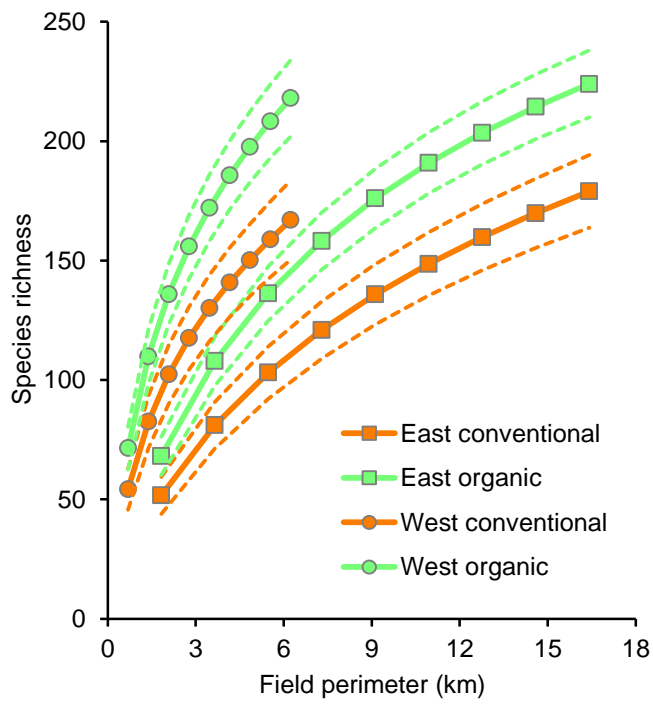
371 **Figure 2** Effects of region and management on farmers' profit (a), revenue (b) and cost (c) measured  
 372 **in Euros per hectare (n = 28 fields) and on farm size (d) (n=18 farms)**. Organic farmers' revenue  
 373 contained the subsidy for organic farming, which was 170 and 210 €/ha in West and East. Bars represent  
 374 mean  $\pm$  SEM. See Supplementary Table 1 for test statistics.



375 **Figure 3** Effects of region (a) and management (b), their interaction, i.e. effectiveness of organic  
 376 **management (c), and edge effect (edge vs. interior (d), interior vs. centre (e), edge vs. centre (f)) on**  
 377 **plant and arthropod species richness, as well as the summary effect from meta-analysis, expressed as**  
 378 **effect estimate  $\pm$  95% CI (n = 36 fields). Org.: organic; Conv.: conventional; Inter.: interior. Significance**  
 379 **levels: (\*): <0.1, \*: <0.05, \*\*: <0.01, \*\*\*: <0.001.**



380 **Figure 4 Effects of region and management on overall species richness using sample-based**  
381 **rarefaction curves standardized for perimeter per field (n = 36 fields; dashed lines represent 95%**  
382 **confidence intervals).**



383 **Table 1 Landscape structure (in 500 m buffer) around and local management intensity of study fields**  
 384 **in small (West) vs. large (East) scale agricultural systems with organic vs. conventional management**  
 385 **(mean  $\pm$  SEM) during 2013 (n=36 fields).** Effects of region (R), management (M) and their interaction are  
 386 shown as effect estimates  $\pm$  95% CIs from general and generalised linear mixed-effects models. Significant  
 387 effects ( $P < 0.05$ ) are marked in bold.

Model	West		East		Estimate $\pm$ 95% CI		
	Organic	Conventional	Organic	Conventional	Region	Management	R $\times$ M
Landscape structure							
Field size (ha)	3.7 $\pm$ 0.7	3.3 $\pm$ 0.4	21.7 $\pm$ 5.5	18.3 $\pm$ 2.1	<b>-14.14 <math>\pm</math> 6.90</b>	2.16 $\pm$ 7.74	-1.55 $\pm$ 10.95
Edge length (km)	18.3 $\pm$ 1.3	19.5 $\pm$ 1.6	11.0 $\pm$ 0.8	10.8 $\pm$ 0.6	<b>8.38 <math>\pm</math> 3.67</b>	0.02 $\pm$ 2.90	-1.52 $\pm$ 4.10
Grassy field margin (km)	7.2 $\pm$ 0.5	7.3 $\pm$ 0.4	5.5 $\pm$ 0.6	5.0 $\pm$ 0.9	<b>2.09 <math>\pm</math> 1.90</b>	0.42 $\pm$ 1.73	-0.54 $\pm$ 2.45
Land-use diversity	1.4 $\pm$ 0.1	1.3 $\pm$ 0.0	0.9 $\pm$ 0.1	0.9 $\pm$ 0.1	<b>0.43 <math>\pm</math> 0.26</b>	0.07 $\pm$ 0.22	-0.03 $\pm$ 0.31
Agricultural area (%)	73.9 $\pm$ 4.1	76.9 $\pm$ 6.2	81.0 $\pm$ 5.1	85.5 $\pm$ 4.5	-9.25 $\pm$ 16.11	-5.49 $\pm$ 13.55	2.90 $\pm$ 19.17
Management intensity							
Fertilizer (kg N/ha)	21.6 $\pm$ 10.9	199.3 $\pm$ 6.3	65.3 $\pm$ 11.7	193.6 $\pm$ 8.6	-8.47 $\pm$ 33.76	<b>-129.61 <math>\pm</math> 33.76</b>	<b>-57.10 <math>\pm</math> 22.40</b>
Pesticide application (#)	0.0 $\pm$ 0.0	4.3 $\pm$ 0.4	0.0 $\pm$ 0.0	5.2 $\pm$ 0.7	0.19 $\pm$ 1.03	–	–
Yield (dt/ha)	40.9 $\pm$ 2.5	85.2 $\pm$ 3.3	48.3 $\pm$ 2.5	85.3 $\pm$ 1.6	0.54 $\pm$ 8.25	<b>-37.91 <math>\pm</math> 8.25</b>	-7.91 $\pm$ 11.67
Study field size (ha)	3.0 $\pm$ 0.5	3.1 $\pm$ 0.4	21.8 $\pm$ 3.6	20.0 $\pm$ 3.0	<b>-16.95 <math>\pm</math> 7.18</b>	1.23 $\pm$ 5.59	-1.35 $\pm$ 7.90

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